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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1860

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PROMOTION OF FDJ-CHIEF KRENZ SEEN; FDJ EFFECTIVENESS DISCUSSED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 24-25 Jan 81 p 13

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeffel, member, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG editorial staff, datelined January, Berlin, GDR: "GDR State Youth--In Honecker's Footsteps--FDJ Chief Egon Krenz Is Moving Up"]

[Text] In the GDR state youth association, the Free German Youth (FDJ), a transfer of personnel is taking place which is rejuvenating the leadership and at the end of which FDJ leader Egon Krenz will probably be replaced. The 11th FDJ Parliament has been convened for the beginning of June. The 10th party congress will take place 6 weeks earlier. It is the FDJ's mission to fulfill the unity party's decrees as its "reliable assistant."

About 2 million young citizens of the GDR (about 70 percent) are organized in the FDJ. The SED pampers its youth organization, whose members they praise as the "masters of tomorrow" and laud as the "fighting reserve of the party." With the passing of the youth law in 1974 the FDJ was granted far-reaching participation rights. Almost 15 percent of the delegates in the communal and kreis parliaments are under 30 years of age. In the People's Chamber the FDJ constitutes an independent 52-member fraction. Young people are encouraged to play the role of pacemaker in the factories to raise output and increase production. In 1980 more than 3,000 "youth brigades" were newly established. Many sections of plants are supervised responsibly by the FDJ as "youth projects." The state utilizes young peoples' knowledge through the MMH-movement ("Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow"). And last but not least: more than 40,000 FDJ members were invited to join the SED in the last 2 years.

"We promise you," the FDJ Central Council pledged to SED Secretary General Erich Honecker on 18 December 1980, "that our Marxist party, its Central Committee, its Politbureau and you personally can always rely on the FDJ." As an example, the "young friends" want to assist the socialist economy by pledging to save DM 1.5 billion through the economical use of materials, by collecting 377,550 tons of scrap, bundling up 66,200 tons of waste paper and by modernizing 10,370 apartments through voluntary labor. In his letter of gratitude party leader Honecker assigned state youth the mission of assuming the leading role in the development of microelectronics, automation and the use of industrial robots.

It is difficult to discover how many of the registered members of the FDJ are really active. A large proportion of young people prefer to spend their free time outside the constraints of state supervision and many attempt to avoid their duties as members. The blue shirt with the FDJ badge—a rising sun—is only worn when it is absolutely necessary: at large celebrations or parades. There is no compulsory membership; but it is "the done thing," at least on paper, to belong. Anyone active in the FDJ can count on privileges, anyone not joining has to accept negative evaluations. No secret is made by the association's central publication, JUNGE WELT, (circulation of over 1 million daily) that there is waste and resistance in the work of the FDJ. The secretary of the FDJ, Sigrid Bleck (23) from Bernau, expressed her annoyance in an interview about "lazy FDJ members who think that other people will take care of it" and about "fellow members who regard me seriously but not the FDJ." Klaus Hoeckel, FDJ propagandist in the Hennigsdorf steel and rolling mill, reported that the wall posters he put up were "torn down or written on." At one meeting only half of the FDJ members were present, and propagandist Klaus saw himself as "talking to himself." Another young official, 22-year-old Karsten Hass from the Teltow electrical factory, complained about "insinuations from coworkers that I am just preparing a kind of spring board for a different job with my work for the FDJ."

Frank Schwellnus (18), "home activities chairman" in an apprentices' dormitory, complained that "a lot of the apprentices go to bed after school and do not participate in anything." Twenty-year old Marina Guschal, a welder from Zwickau, has little success using the party slogans: "Often I don't have the necessary courage and suitable arguments. It is not always easy for me to put my point of view openly and clearly." Laziness and indifference, needling and obstruction--active "FDJniks" have to deal with them constantly; many of them lack the courage and energy. Even well-trained officials fail in their mission of propagating genuine pleasure in "real, existing socialism."

The majority of young GDR citizens tries to withdraw from the ideological oversaturation and the claim to infallibility of the state organizations. Discussions take place in private groups; the attractive power of Western music and the urge to obtain unfiltered information are stronger than the party's doctrinaire claim that it can educate a "completely developed socialist personality" in the meaning of the SED. Young people in the GDR think the existing system is in need of improvement, but they do not consider taking to the streets in order to topple the system. Most of them have accommodated to the state and are thinking about their own advancement. They are as politically indifferent as the majority of their contemporaries in the West, trying to conduct their private lives within the given limits.

So that the "masters of tomorrow" do not turn rebellious, the FDJ has set up a law-and-order wing, in which more than 37,000 schoolchildren, apprentices and students, young workers and farmers are organized. Their job is to ensure order, security and discipline. FDJ member from Berlin, Hella Wittmann, explained that this was a "political function," "because the principal mission of the FDJ was class-oriented education."

Erich Honecker, former cofounder of the Free German Youth and first chairman from 1946 to 1955, is serious about the FDJ as a "fighting reserve." Since assuming office as head of the SED (1971) he has systematically surrounded himself with erstwhile members of the youth organization. Anyone who has proven himself in the FDJ leadership can be certain of advancing into key position in the party and state administration, after attending the party universities and studying in Moscow. Thus, several former top FDJ officials are now in the SED Politbureau and among the 15 First Secretaries of the SED bezirk administrations there are two former FDJ leaders (Horst Schumann, Guenther Jahn) as well as two deputy chairmen (Werner Felfe, Konrad Naumann).

The current chairman of the FDJ Central Council, Egon Krenz, a favorite of Honecker, will be 44 years of age and has headed the youth association since 1974. At the same time (as a candidate) he occupies a seat in the 27-member SED Politbureau and is a member of the presidium of the People's Chamber. He is assured of an influential position when he hands over the leadership of the FDJ this year. Everything points to it, because his predecessors Jahn and Schumann were the same age when they advanced from head of the FDJ to SED bezirk governor; Honecker was 42 when he gave up the leadership of the FDJ.

A one-seat increase in the FDJ Central Council which was recently approved indicates that Krenz' successor will come from this group. Several FDJ bezirk chairmen and three secretaries of the Central Council, among them Krenz' former deputy Erich Postler (39) were recently removed "in connection with the assumption of other responsible duties" and replaced by younger generation comrades between the ages of 30 and 34. It is unlikely that the chairman of the GDR children's organization, the "Thaelmann Pioneers," Helga Labs, will succeed Krenz; she is already 41 years old. So it is possible that 34-year old Ellen Brombacher, who has had a picture-book career in the FDJ and the SED since her parents moved from the FRG to the GDR and today heads the Berlin FDJ organization, will be chosen as the new chairman of the FDJ. But a previously unknown young man, 34-year old Eberhard Aurich, who was recently summoned as Krenz's deputy, could be his successor, if Ellen Brombacher is put in charge of the Thaelmann Pioneers.

9581

CSO: 2300

'SOLIDARITY' CALLS FOR TALKS WITH NEW GOVERNMENT

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 14 Feb 81, pp 2,11

[Excerpts] A restrained reply was made to Jaruzelski's appeal for a strike moratorium.

The NSZZ "Solidarity" National Consultative Commission at its meeting in Gdansk came out against the rash local strikes which are ineffective. The commission expressed a willingness to engage in immediate talks with General Jaruzelski's government.

In its opposition to the rash strikes, the commission stated that it did not, however, reject strikes as a workers' weapon. But they will be the ultimate weapon.

Lech Walesa, "Solidarity" chairman, commenting on Premier Jaruzelski's appeal for a three-month strike moratorium, announced that he wants immediate talks with the government. "We do not want a strike now," Walesa said, "but our final reply to the premier's appeal for a moratorium will depend on negotiations with the government."

A "Solidarity" spokesman in Warsaw announced that there is great hope that General Jaruzelski's new government will be more stable and decisive than the previous cabinet. Asked by reporters whether "Solidarity" will support Jaruzelski's appeal for a strike moratorium, the spokesman replied: "This would be like signing a blank check. We want a dialog but we also want to see what the government will do. If they begin to arrest our activists, then we will have no choice but to strike."

The consultative commission called off the newspaper printers' strike, scheduled for yesterday. The strike was to have been a protest against press censorship. The newspapers in Wroclaw did not go to press because the printers struck as a sign of protest against the arrest of Tadeusz Jandziszak, member of the Confederation for Independent Poland.

In Lodz

Further talks will begin today in Lodz where students are occupying college and university buildings. The students are demanding abolition of compulsory courses in Marxism-Leninism, introduction of English and German language studies in addition to the Russian now being taught, and more input into the study program.

At Walesa's intervention, two "Solidarity" workers were released from jail in Radom.

Changes in the Government

Lack of the full text of Jaruzelski's speech prevents a complete analysis of what he said. We can only refer to fragments and call attention to the first changes he made in the government he took over from Pinkowski.

These changes are more functional than political. Jaruzelski appears to have attached greater importance to the people doing the work than to political personalities. One such change is the dismissal of Vice Premier S. Kowalczyk, and the appointment, as one of the nine vice premiers, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, editor of the weekly POLITYKA. Rakowski is a man of definite political ambitions. This is the only appointment of this type in the new government.

Rakowski is now regarded as an opponent of the "hard heads" who were heavily supported in the Pinkowski government by the former Gierek boss of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Kowalczyk. His influence was obvious in Pinkowski's recent actions which increased tensions in the country during the past weeks.

Rakowski's performance as an editor and journalist was predictable, but we cannot predict what he will do as an active politician on a high level of government and to what degree he will reflect aspirations for change and democratization.

One of the most urgent problems for the national economy is that of the present destructive party policies in this area. Jaruzelski said nothing concrete in his speech on this critical subject. Neither does the replacement of the incompetent Minister of Agriculture, Leon Klonica, with Jerzy Wojtecki, bode well. Wojtecki is the former director of the Agriculture and Food Department in the Central Committee and as such he is directly responsible for the disastrous state of agriculture. It should be borne in mind that the director of each department in the Central Committee has far greater authority than the department minister. So it is difficult to expect that agriculture will quickly change for the better as a result of party and government actions with Wojtecki as Minister of Agriculture.

The new premier erred in leaving Stanislaw Ciosek, Minister Without Portfolio, in the government. Ciosek lost all credibility with the working masses during his recent long-term service as First Secretary of the Jelenia Gora Province party committee.

9295

CSO: 2600

REPORTAGE ON STRIKES, KOR, PZPR PLENUM NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 10 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] Despite attempts by NSZZ Solidarity chairman Lech Walesa to bring about a compromise, talks with government representatives collapsed and a strike broke out yesterday in Jelenia Gora province. The PZPR Central Committee plenum opened in Warsaw. PAP reported that charges had been filed against KOR [Workers' Self-Defense Committee].

Government representatives in Jelenia Gora, headed by the Vice Minister for Administration and Local Economy, Jablonski, made some important concessions, even agreeing to the resignation of the Minister for Trade Union Affairs, Ciosek, who had been accused by the workers of corruption. Negotiations collapsed, surprisingly, over the Ministry for Internal Affairs' luxurious rest home, which the workers wanted converted to public use. The government representatives rejected this demand. Lech Walesa, who took part in the negotiations, proposed a compromise-- that the rest home be converted to public use until 1984, when a new hospital will be built in Jelenia Gora. But the workers rejected the compromise proposal.

Marian Kuniecki, local spokesman for Solidarity, first announced that the talks broke down because government representatives wanted to consult with Warsaw, but said later that negotiations will not be renewed. The representatives left for Warsaw.

Yesterday at noon it was reported that a delegation of striking workers in Jelenia Gora agreed to go to Warsaw to meet with Vice Premier Kazimierz Barcikowski.

450 Plants

Yesterday 450 factories in the province were on strike. Only public utility plants did not strike. Workers in neighboring provinces announced that they would call warning strikes if an agreement was not reached.

Student Strike

The sit-in strike of students in Lodz continues. Talks were to have begun yesterday between students and government representatives, headed by Stanislaw Kajka, Vice Minister of Higher Education. The Lodz students were supported by students in Poznan, who also began a sit-in at the university.

Central Committee Plenum and the Sejm

The PZPR Central Committee plenum, which can decide changes at the highest party and government levels, opened yesterday.

The opening speech was made by Politburo member Tadeusz Grabski, who discussed the role of the trade unions. Grabski is one of the "hard heads."

The Sejm will meet on Wednesday and Thursday. The main topic of discussion will be the budget estimate and economic plan. Any changes made in the government will also be announced at the meeting of the Sejm.

Attack on KOR

The official news agency PAP and television reported that the public prosecutor had brought charges against KOR, accusing it of "activity against the constitutional authority of the PPR and against its allies." According to the report, KOR is undermining the State's political principles and is intent on provoking unrest in the country." KOR has also been accused of allegedly receiving financial and technical assistance from abroad.

Anka Kowalska, Solidarity activist, scoffed at this report, calling it a "pathological and senseless statement." Kowalska said, "This is a provocation that can only lead to an incalculable reaction, considering the close ties between KOR and Solidarity."

The PAP report was announced the day before the Central Committee plenum, which is very significant. It may very well be that the report reflects the internal struggle taking place in party leadership, as described in DZIENNIK POLSKI on Friday and Saturday. It should be noted that Czubinski, the prosecutor general, is one of the "hard heads."

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CSO: 2600

MOSCOW ATTACKS ON SOLIDARITY, KOR REPORTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] Soviet mass media reports on events occurring in Poland have become more critical. The Kremlin demands that PPR authorities take a stronger position on NSZZ Solidarity. Moscow has also attacked KOR [Workers' Self-Defense Committee] and Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik.

As reported by western correspondents in Moscow, the Soviet leadership was especially unhappy about the government's concessions to the workers in Bielsko-Biala and the resignation of the governor and several other officials at the demand of the workers. The Kremlin believes that no negotiations with Solidarity are necessary for as a rule they only strengthen the independent union's position.

The Soviet press did not mention the strike in Jelenia Gora. But Tass widely publicized reports from Warsaw on the charges brought by the prosecutor against KOR. TASS calls KOR "a counterrevolutionary group." The Soviet agency sharply attacked Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, KOR activists, accusing them of striving to change the political system in Poland.

TASS also attacked the "anti-socialist group and extremists from Solidarity, who are working against the PZPR leadership... Solidarity has increased its subversive agitation, using leaflets and its own periodicals."

The Soviet ambassador in the GDR, Piotr Abrasimov, announced that the Soviets cannot be indifferent to events in Poland, which must remain "an integral part of the eastern bloc." In an interview for West German television, Abrasimov declined to say whether the Soviets will intervene militarily in Poland.

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STRIKE IN JELENIA GORA ENDED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] An agreement reached yesterday between NSZZ Solidarity representatives from Jelenia Gora and a government commission brought an end to the strike.

The government commission was composed of Vice Premiers Stanislaw Mach and Jerzy Ozdowski. Lech Walesa, Solidarity leader, also took part in the talks. The government accepted the workers' basic demands. The PZPR Central Committee members' rest home in Szklarska Poremba will be converted to public use. Also, in accordance with workers' demands, the sanatorium belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be turned over to the health department.

The agreement also committed the Ministries of Construction and Health and the governor of Jelenia Gora to build a new community hospital, to be completed in four years.

The strike planned in Silesia was called off. In Katowice, talks will continue, mainly on improving working conditions for surface miners.

Radio Warsaw reported yesterday that Prof Janusz Gorski, minister of higher education, came to an agreement with the students who were conducting a sit-in strike at Lodz colleges. Students in Poznan struck in support of them. Details of the agreement are not known.

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INTENTIONAL DELAYING OF PZPR CONGRESS OBSERVED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 13 Feb 81 pp 1, 4

[Text] Causes: Factional struggle and a desire to limit "renewal"

On the first day of the budget session the Sejm confirmed General Jaruzelski's appointment as premier. At the same time it appeared that Jaruzelski will keep his position of minister of national defense, which confirms our belief that he will be premier for a temporary period, probably until after the Congress.

At the Central Committee's October plenum, many local party activists demanded that the Congress be convened as quickly as possible. Not only does the Committee's membership have to be renewed, but there has to be a renewal in the PZPR also. It was recalled that in the past, when a split had occurred, the party leadership delayed calling a Congress so as to quiet the rumblings in the party's rank and file and thus stop the very far-reaching demands for reform. This is what Gomulka did after October, and what Gierek did after December.

By statute, the Central Committee must announce a definite date for a Congress three months in advance. Kania announced a couple of months ago that the Congress would take place the week of March 30th. Obviously this promise will not be kept. There has to be a new plenum, probably in a few weeks, at which the date of the Congress can be set. It is most likely, therefore, that the Congress will be in June at the earliest.

Playing a Waiting Game

A new pre-Congress Central Committee plenum is thus inevitable. Aside from setting the date, establishing a schedule of meetings and determining the Congress' position, the plenum will be a forum for the power struggle between the "hard heads" and the pragmatists who include, in addition to Kania and Moczar, Jaruzelski.

Delaying the date of the Congress has resulted in open dissatisfaction and even protests from local organizations, who are demanding that there be no delays in the reforms that are indispensable for putting the PZPR in order and purging the government and party apparatus of persons charged with corruption. Resolutions to this effect are being passed at provincial committee meetings, e.g. in Krakow, Lodz, Poznan and others. Such opinions were heard during the exceptionally brief discussion at the last plenum.

Workers' Comments

A worker named Wrobel, from the Petrochemia plant in Plock, accused the Politburo of deliberately delaying preparations for the Congress' program. A foreman at the Warsaw Steelworks, Gajewski, asked point-blank who were the people in the party leadership who are trying to stop the reforms. A worker from Budostal in Krakow, Jamroz, said that many party members are concluding that the plans for reform are becoming a fiction and that the party elite's politics are marked by constant vacillation. A miner from Walbrzych, Adamek, was indignant at the lack of adequate information about the country's situation and the actions that the government is taking, which antagonizes the people.

Local members of the Central Committee did not realize that it is precisely Olszowski's "hard head" group that wants to delay the Congress and weaken the rank and file's enthusiasm and willingness for the changes and renewal that would democratize the party and society as a whole.

Prior to the Soviet Congress

It should be noted that Jaruzelski's appointment as premier and the sharply critical speeches by Grabski, Barcikowski and Kania at the plenum took place scarcely two weeks before the Soviet party congress, which opens in Moscow on February 23rd. The appointment of Jaruzelski as head of the government serves to appease the aggressive attacks of Soviet propaganda. Some strong words in the plenum speeches, especially against Solidarity and "anti-socialist groups" were intended to be heard in Moscow. Not all, of course, because Grabski's attack, for example, is an expression of the true tendencies of the Olszowski faction.

One must remember, therefore, that the utterances of PZPR leaders do not always mean that they will be followed by concrete actions. This refers not only to the words intended "for export" in the Soviet bloc, but also to the solemn promises made to the people. That is why Solidarity is so insistently demanding that the September agreements be honored and why the party masses are pressing for organizational and leadership changes in the PZPR.

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CSO: 2600

FACTIONAL STRUGGLES NOT ELIMINATED BY PZPR CC PLENUM

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Feb 81 pp 1, 4

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee's eighth plenum did not put an end to the struggles within the party. Jozef Pinkowski, the inept premier, was replaced by army general Wojciech Jaruzelski. Eight Central Committee members were fired. The plenum's deliberations were marked by attacks on NSZZ Solidarity and KOR [Workers' Self-Defense Committee].

Based on information from Warsaw that is still incomplete, it is apparent that the eighth plenum has not resolved the factional struggle taking place in the party leadership. One evidence of this is the appointment of General Jaruzelski as head of the government. He is the first active duty general in this position in the history of the PPR.

He will be premier, it is believed, for a temporary period. His main task will be to uphold the government's authority and to find some middle ground between the opposing tendencies in the party leadership. But most of all, his presence alone should serve to silence the political propaganda attacks emanating from Moscow, East Berlin and Prague.

No details of the plenary session are available yet but reports are that it was stormy. We shall return to this subject later. Based on the slight personnel changes, actually movements in the Central Committee, it is apparent that neither Olszowski nor the Kania-Moczar twosome won a clear victory. This may signal deeper divisions in the party's rank and file. Therefore, if no other plenum is called to settle these matters, the struggle for power will have to be fought in public at the forthcoming congress. On the other hand, the Sejm, which meets on Wednesday and Thursday, will certainly make some changes in the government based on proposals from General Jaruzelski.

The Military Premier's Past

Wojciech Jaruzelski was born in 1923 in Turow (Lublin province) where his father was an estate administrator. Before the war he studied at a secondary school operated by the Marianist order in Bielany near Warsaw. The war found him in Russia where he enlisted in Berling's forces in 1943. He attended the military college in Riazan and later was an officer in the Polish 1st Army. During 1945-1947 he was active in the underground resistance movement. Later he graduated from the General Staff Academy in Warsaw. From 1963-1968 he was chief of the main political board of

the Polish Army and vice minister of national defense. He succeeded Spychalski as minister of national defense. He has been at the top of the military hierarchy in Poland longer than any of the other regime ministers. He undoubtedly has Moscow's confidence both from the political standpoint as well as for his skills in leading the Polish Army.

He became a PZ & Politburo member in 1970 but never involved himself in party politics. After Gierek's downfall at the Central Committee's sixth plenum, he admitted that the members of the party leadership, to which he himself belonged, displayed an opportunistic attitude in obeying Gierek's dictates.

Political and Staff Arrangements

The internal politics of the PPR have for many years reflected the rather close and very definite cooperation between the army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It must be assumed, therefore, that Jaruzelski's relations with both Kania and Moczar have been and continue to be good. It appears that as premier he should also speak their language. On the other hand, Pinkowski was a man who owed his career to Gierek, and his most recent actions indicated that he is Olaszowski's man.

Actually, it may be said that government and party authority always rests with the army and security service, who work hand in hand. The newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, which in years past wrote much more on the operations of the militia and the security service than did the rest of the press, writes very tellingly about this cozy alliance. The last couple of months ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, which is the organ of the main political board of the army, under Jaruzelski, conducted a fierce campaign against the so-called anti-socialist forces, competing with the Soviet, East German and Czechoslovak press. The main goal of its attacks has been KOR, and particularly Jacek Kuron.

A Lesson for the General

Jaruzelski had a bitter meeting with the Szczecin dockworkers in December 1971 when he came with Gierek to the Warski Shipyard.

The workers hurled sharp words of criticism and accusation against him at the meeting for the army's participation in the December events. But it was revealed at that time that while the decisions were being made by Gomulka to use the army against the workers, Jaruzelski was in some still-unexplained way isolated and cut off from any way of giving orders to the army. The military action on the coast at that time was directed by General Korczynski. This isolation was probably a fact, since afterwards this story was never questioned. But at the shipyard meeting the workers accused him, as deputy from Szczecin, of failing in his obligations to his constituents, and that even after December, he did not come out in their defense.

This eloquent lesson may have taught Jaruzelski respect for the workers. But it is not known his position, as premier, will be towards the democratic opposition. If it follows the political line of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, it can be assumed that it will not be conciliatory.

Mini-Purge in the Central Committee

The personnel decisions made at the plenum were not very important. They were more in the nature of a political house-cleaning within the group. Such Gierek-ites as

Franciszek Kain, former vice premier and minister of aviation, Henryk Rechowicz, rector of Silesian University in Katowice, and Zdzislaw Legomski were fired. Andrzej Borkowski was removed from the list of candidate members.

The following were forced to "voluntarily" resign from the Central Committee: Zdzislaw Grudzien, former member of Gierk's Politburo, Jadwiga Lokka, first vice minister of foreign trade, Jerzy Zasada, former long-time first secretary of the provincial committee in Torun, and Zofia Grzebisz-Nowicka. None of those removed from the Central Committee played an important role in the party at this time.

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CSO: 2600

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE ECONOMIC COMMISSION HOLDS INAUGURAL MEETING

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Feb 81 pp 1,3

[Article by PAP [Polish Press Agency]: "Inaugural Session of the PZPR Central Committee's Economic Commission"]

[Text] On the 26th of this month the inaugural session of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee's Economic Commission was held. Politburo member, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Tadeusz Grabski took part in the discussions.

In his opening address, T. Grabski stated that already during the discussions at the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee it had been proposed that the Central Committee also operate through problem commissions. The decision to establish such commission was adopted at the Seventh Plenum, with the object of creating institutional mechanisms to exploit the collective knowledge and experience of the Central Committee, enhance the rank and role of Central Committee members, and assure appropriate effect on the operations of the Central Committee's apparatus. The Economic Commission is one of six commissions established by the Central Committee, and it consists of Central Committee members and deputy members.

The commission shall perform updated assessments of the socio-economic situation, on the nationwide scale as well as in selected fields. The commission shall contribute to the agenda of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and the work of the Politburo, and it shall express its opinions concerning the principal problems transmitted by the Government to the agendas of the Central Committee's Politburo. The Commission may comment on proposals for important socio-economic decisions, topic plans, industrial sector plans, and regional plans considered by the Council of Ministers. The Commission shall also examine materials concerning the functioning of the economy and the work of the ministries and submit its recommendations to the Central Committee's Politburo. The commission shall evaluate the performance of the Central Committee departments, which shall submit to its reports on their activities as well as activity plans at semiannual intervals. The Commission cooperates with the other problem commissions of the Central Committee as well as voivodship PZPR committees, and it benefits from continuous assistance by the other Central Committee departments.

T. Grabski proposed appointing a seven-member Presidium that would direct the Commission's activities. He was authorized by the Political Commission to nominate the following: for Chairman of the Commission M. Jagielski, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, First Deputy Premier, and well-known party and state activists; for deputy chairmen—T. Beja, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control and B. Kowalczyk, Master Foundry Worker at the Zawiercie Iron and Steel Plant; for Secretary of the Commission—Z. Zielinski, member of the Central Committee Secretariat and Head of the Department of Industry, Construction, and Transport at the Central Committee. Jagielski also nominated the following as members of the presidium: Ignacy Drabik, Senior Master Metalworker at the Metals Plant in Starzysko Kamienna; Jozef Pajestka, Board Chairman of the Polish Economics Society; and Jan'na Skublicka, quality control inspector at the Krosnolen Flax Industry Plant in Krosno. The nominations were voted upon and approved unanimously.

T. Grabski moved that the next session deal with proposals for economic reforms, with allowance for the results of broad public discussions, and that after its next session the Commission discuss a three-year program for economic stabilization and a Government report on the state of the economy.

Postulates of the 10-Point Government Program

As the starting point in the discussions Mieczyslaw Jagielski presented to the Commission the postulates of the 10-Point Government Program drafted at the February 12 session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. This program has already begun to be implemented by the Government, especially as regards the food market, public health, construction, and agriculture.

Point 1 in the program will be carried out by introducing control of meat and meat products as of this coming April 1, with imports during the first half of the year to complement the market supply of foodstuffs. Independently of imports, the Government will take consistent measures to assure the production and deliveries of foodstuffs to the market as regards both the rationed commodities and the non-rationed foodstuffs. Here priority will be given at present to an optimal satisfaction of the market demand for processed grain and flour products, animal and vegetable fats, milk and dairy products, and potatoes.

Work was started to draft programs to expand the productive capacity of the grain, dairy, and fats industries and to develop small-scale food processing. Considering the needs of the market and agriculture, at its next session the Government shall consider the draft of a resolution by the Council of Ministers concerning economic and financial incentives for the development of subsidiary production for market needs by state industrial and construction and installation enterprises.

Pursuant to Point 2 of the Program, the Government shall reassess the current system of price controls, especially as regards the prices essential to the nation's standard of living. The forms and methods of combatting speculation and attempts at unjustified price increases by the socialized industries will be made more effective. The Council of Ministers has examined a proposal for revising the decrees on certain types of taxes with the object of adjusting the taxes on private land plots and vacation cottages so as to satisfy the feeling of social justice.

Concerning Point 3 of the Program, the Government has discussed on the 20th of this month the status and needs of public health. Absolute priority for the production of medications has been assured. Preparations are under way to revise the principles for paying salaries and bonuses to employees of the pharmaceutical industry in relation to the variety of drugs and medicines provided. The imports of medications and semifinished pharmaceuticals from the USSR and other socialist countries will be increased. Priority will also be given to the construction of hospitals and social care buildings. Among other things, several score facilities released by bureaus, offices, and other institutions are being adapted to satisfy these needs. Steps have been initiated to improve the situation in in-patient psychiatric institutions, which has been particularly neglected.

In housing construction, with which Point 4 of the Government's Program deals, the economic-financial system of construction enterprises has been revised: the revisions should stimulate greater interest of enterprise personnel to implement its tasks. As part of the projected increase in the powers of local authorities, gradual decentralization of construction management shall take place, thus making possible an improved utilization of its potential in accordance with local needs.

As regards Point 5 of the Program, the work to determine the social minimum continues. Draft resolutions by the Council of Ministers concerning the determination and investigation of changes in the social minimum and the reimbursement for the rise in the cost of living have been worked out and transmitted for consultation to the trade unions.

Agriculture, which is the subject of Point 6, is the subject of special attention by the Government. Last November the prices for hogs and cattle on hoof and for milk were raised. Procurement prices for the 1981 grain harvest will increase. Taken together, all these price increases will yield an extra net profit for agriculture of more than 38 billion zlotys annually after allowing for the changes in feed prices. This year, grain and feed imports will remain at nearly the same level as last year. All-out efforts are being undertaken to assure an increase in the supply of mineral fertilizers in 1981.

The Government will evaluate the agricultural regulations from the standpoint of the joint guidelines of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Polish Peasant Party, as well as from the standpoint of the agreements signed with farmers. New powers of rural self-government shall be defined. It is expected that the regulations governing old age pensions for private farmers will be revised so as to adjust their size to that paid under the national pension system.

The objective of Point 7 of the Program will be to audit all central and ministerial inventories of raw and other materials by the Government. On this basis the necessary adjustments shall be made upon granting supply priority to plants producing foodstuffs, other staple market goods, and goods for export. At the same time, economic incentives for a thrifty management of resources will be brought into action. The ministries will draft programs for structural changes in industrial production to increase production for the market and exports, eliminate inefficient production, and assure a tangible improvement in the supply of spare and co-production parts.

As part of its adjustment of investment activities, with which Point 8 of the Program deals, the Government will ratify the list of projects whose construction is to be discontinued in 1981. So far it has been decided to discontinue the construction of 905 projects with an aggregate project-estimate cost of 409 billion zlotys.

To implement Point 9 of the Program, whose objective is to strengthen the nation's balance of payments, at the session on the 18th of this month, presided over by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski, the nature of both domestic and foreign actions in that direction was agreed upon, with special consideration of steps which will have been taken before the first quarter of the year is over. The 3-year program for economic stabilization will allow for the necessary shifts in the structure of exports due to the need to reduce the exports of certain raw materials and foodstuffs and increase the exports of manufactured goods.

Under Point 10 of the Program, the Government will strive to strengthen the observance of the labor law code. Steps will be taken to streamline the organization of labor. A detailed review of organizational structures and charts and personnel staffing will be carried out.

Legislative Initiatives

Irrespective of the issues considered in the 10-Point Program, the Government will initiate extensive legislation relating to the economic reform and the agreements concluded with the representatives of the work force.

Parallel to the steps outlined above, the Government Presidium and the Council of Ministers have commenced necessary reforms of their own activities. Among other things, the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers has been established.

The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers issues guidelines and recommendations, determines tasks and schedules and identifies the institutions responsible for implementing them, and evaluates the implementation; submits to the Council of Ministers comments, recommendations, and drafts of decisions on matters of fundamental importance to the national economy; makes the necessary decisions and takes other steps to assure the implementation of the entrusted tasks; appoints teams to elaborate on specific issues, and recommends the conduct of experts and research. The establishment of this Committee is intended to streamline the work of the Government itself. The Committee will deal with problems of a crucial nature.

In the course of the discussions T. Rudolf, First Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers, discussed the performance of the economy last January. The participants in the discussions, which lasted nearly 5 hours, were: M. Zajfryd, E. Szyr, J. Majewski, J. Pajestka, T. Czechowicz, P. Bozyk, J. Janiszewski, R. Labus, Z. Szalajda, T. Bejm, M. Gorywoda, I. Drabik, and J. Skalski. The discussions were summed up by M. Jagielski.

LETTER ON INDEPENDENT STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION NOTED

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Feb 81 p 3

[Text] We cite an excerpt from a letter written by a college student in Warsaw who writes as follows on the recently organized Independent Students' Association (NSZ):

"Never before have I been so busy. In addition to my regular studies, which take a lot of time, I am active in NSZ. At the moment this is an interim organization because we are not yet registered, but this should occur in a matter of days. The directive on the conditions under which student unions can be organized and exist has been changed in our favor. This was the result of talks by students of the Independent Students' Association with the minister of higher education, which took place during the Warsaw University student strikes.

Our association is non-political and is an alternative to the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP). Up to now, the only student union since the Union of Socialist Youth (ZMS) and the Polish Student Association (ZSP) merged in the mid-seventies, has been SZSP. I did not belong to it, although the pressure to sign up was quite heavy.

At present the NSZ comprises from ten to twenty percent of the students and new members are signing up all the time. SZSP membership, however, cannot be estimated because most of them do not pay dues and some of them never picked up their membership cards, yet they official remain members of the organization..."

9295

CSO: 2600

DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL DEFENSE OUTLINED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OC in Polish No 2, Feb 80 pp 1-5, 55

[Article by Brig Gen Jozef Owetsch, chief of National Civil Defense Inspectorate and Deputy Chief of National Civil Defense: "Successive Phase in the Development of Civil Defense"]

[Text] Another successive year of work has begun toward strengthening and improving the most universal aspect of the defense of our nation, civil defense. Let us try to become aware of the accomplishments of the past year and to determine the position from which we will begin to realize the task for 1980. Let us try to isolate some of the directions of civil defense activity which demand corrective action or greater attention during the current year.

However, before we address the basic theme, it would be worthwhile, once more, to define the particular characteristic of the civil defense in our country, which exerts decisive influence on its own possibilities and its role in the organizational-functional structure of the state administration and economy. This characteristic is:

Unity of Defense With State Administration and National Economy

On the strength of the amended statute of universal defense obligation, passed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) on 38 June 1979, the voivods, city mayors, town mayors, chiefs of subdivisions and gmina (rural parishes), and chiefs of towns and gmina--as chiefs of local administration civil defense units--direct this (civil) defense in conformance with pertinent regulations and the decisions of voivodship defense committees, and on the basis of the principles of realization of civil defense tasks, as determined by the chief of National Civil Defense. They also organize, with the assistance of their executive apparatus, and prepare for action civil defense units. They also accomplish other numerous duties resulting from the resolution of the Council of Ministers No 111, dated 18 May 1973.

Similarly, the directors of plants and factories are preparing the organizational units entrusted to them, for civil defense goals, in the spirit of decisions and directives of higher ministerial organs and appropriate local chiefs of civil defense. Thus the organization of all aspects of civil defense and their direction find themselves in the hands of the local civil administration and

national economy. The essence of this organization-functional structure is the acceptance of the basis of a continuous and homogenous leadership and responsibility for the formulation of all activities. This includes the preparation of subordinate organizational units for civil defense, even under conditions far more difficult than in time of peace, such as are created by war.

This results in an absence of the necessity to conduct reorganization or changes in the event of war or mobilization.

Civil defense organs, units and their executive apparatus are a permanent fixture of the organizational structure of the local state administration and are together as one. Therefore, the achievements and the weaknesses of civil defense can be analyzed only in strict connection with the sociopolitical, organizational and production activities of the local state administration and economic organizations.

Achievements of 1979

The past year was a period of planning continuation, of systematic effort at all levels of state administration and national economy destined to bring to life the goals and tasks of civil defense defined by the binding resolution of the Council of Ministers and the fundamentals of realization of civil defense objectives for 1979-1980, as determined by the chief of National Defense. This multifaceted activity was primarily concentrated on the realization of the overriding goal of civil defense, by which it is generally understood to be protection of the population from peacetime or wartime threats.

One of the basic undertakings of civil defense, on which the protection of populations is contingent, is an early warning of the population of the approaching threat. In peacetime, such a threat may be a destructive flood resulting from leakage or destruction of hydrotechnical installations, or from damage to reservoirs filled with industrial toxic agents which would result in contamination. In wartime, warning of population about the danger of an air attack and contamination becomes a matter of first importance. This direction of activities has received much attention during the past year. Based on the conceptual and experimental activities which were completed during past years, systematic local practices have been initiated using the modernized national warning and alerting system. With the participation of all voivodships, a nationwide practice has been conducted. The results of this practice have provided ample data for an evaluation of the system's functioning and for further modernization.

Of no less importance to the effective functioning of civil defense are reports of reliable information to the organs of state administration and national economy, regarding the location, time, type and intensity of radioactive or chemical contamination or biological contagion. This does not pertain only to data respective to the environment (terrain, air, water), but also data pertaining to cattle, food, crops and fodder. This role is carried out by the contamination-detection and analysis system. Many widely known examples, both here and abroad attest to the peacetime value of such system. Even in peacetime, one cannot exclude

an unintentional case of contamination of air or ground by toxic industrial agents or by radiological agents or to exclude occurrence of biological contagion centers. In wartime, lack of precise information as to the status of contagion or contamination would make it impossible to undertake effective countermeasures for protection of the population and would complicate the life of the region for the entire country.

It is for those reasons that the past year saw many scientific research undertakings, organizational and training sessions in the area of defense against contamination. The activities undertaken in this measure by the civil defense were met with much understanding and response by many scientific research institutions, military organizations, numerous civilian organizations and government posts. Thanks to these activities it became possible to create a solid structural-functioning basis for a national system of detection and analysis of radiological and chemical contamination and biological contagion. Consequently, during the past year the planning and training preparations have been completed for the extremely complicated, from both the organizational and psychological point of view, population-dispersal operations, inclusive of cadres of industrial enterprises, from those cities which have been recognized as being particularly endangered. In case of war, due to lack of sufficient shelter space, the dispersal of population may become a necessity. However, it may also happen in peacetime, for example, that as a result of a flood or a danger of contamination by toxic industrial agents to an area it may become necessary to evacuate the population. Therefore, a solid, multifaceted preparation of population dispersal is socially useful even today, in the peacetime life of the country. The exercises conducted during the past year have proven that in many voivodships great progress has been made in preparations for population dispersal. Much inventiveness and ingenuity has been demonstrated in order to realize and facilitate this difficult operation.

The preventive undertakings in the area of population protection, both those briefly discussed and those omitted, unfortunately cannot protect the nation from losses and destruction. Therefore, one of the main functions of civil defense is the preparation of appropriate energies and supplies for lifesaving activities and for rendering assistance to the victim.

With this in mind, during the past year intensive effort was expended toward strengthening the organization, material and technical supply and training of civil defense units. In the course of numerous exercises conducted by factory directors, chiefs of gmina, town and gmina, district, city mayors, chiefs of voivodships and the chief of National Civil Defense, their state of preparedness to conduct lifesaving activities was put to a test. The results of most of these exercises were positive in all aspects and had confirmed the apparent progress in the execution of civil defense assignments. However, this is not all. They have also provided, and this is worthy of particular attention, numerous examples of profound engagement and even sacrifices by members of civil defense units. They also deserve recognition for their hard work and generosity in the activities undertaken jointly with the unorganized segment of the population and with the military during the winter and spring of last year. Despite many irregularities and organizational weak points which became apparent during that period, the civil defense units have once more confirmed their indisputable social usefulness.

Intentions for the Current Year

A year of important events in our country has begun--The Eighth PZPR Congress, as well as elections to the Sejm and to the People's Councils. This is also the 35th anniversary of victory over fascism and the entry of the reborn Polish state on the road to socialist progress and also the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact. In this year the balance sheet of civil defense undertakings will see completion during the waning period of the current five-year plan and new goals for the coming 1981-1985 five-year plan will be laid down.

In addition to planning efforts, other projects will be consequently undertaken, those resulting from the fundamental of realization of civil defense goals for 1979-1980, as defined by the chief of National Civil Defense. At the same time, the provisions of the amended statute on the universal obligation for the defense of the PRL will be implemented to include the new executive acts of that statute.

The main lying goal of the civil defense undertakings in this period will be, above all, improving the preparedness of the organs and forces of civil defense to undertake the tasks included in the territorial plans. Much attention will be directed toward organizational, technical and functional improvement of territorial systems of general warning and alerting the population, as well as detection and analysis of contamination.

At the same time, a greater effort than in past years will be expanded toward heightening the level of preparedness and effectiveness of action of the civil defense units in combating natural disasters in cooperation with military units and the unorganized segment of the population.

Experiences of last year's winter action and the spring flood activities will form a basis for work on technical improvement of organizational structures and equipment, as well as of proper preparation for these tasks of the rural and gmina civil defense units. An intervoivodship exercise in combating natural disasters to be conducted in the southern part of the country will also serve to further this goal.

The goal of another intervoivodship exercise will be an analysis of possibilities for exploitation of the potential of administrative organs to prepare, within a limited time frame, of substitute protective structures for the personnel of industrial enterprises and the remainder of the population. This will depend on preparation of a detailed balance sheet of motive forces, means and materials as well as optimal organizational forms for this undertaking.

As in past years, scientific research and developmental activities will be conducted for civil defense purposes. In the current year, it is intended, to give these activities improved organizational forms and to bring to cooperation a greater number of scientific research agencies. The dominating question of scientific efforts will be defense against contamination--the theme of the international symposium planned for 1981, in connection with the 30th anniversary of the Civil Defense of the PRL.

The current year will also be a time of intensification of training, in the area of civil defense, of units and cadres of civil defense and civilian population (in particular youth). In this training activity, we look not only at those values which favor the civil defense effort in the event of war or the need to confront a natural disaster, but also at other values which are appreciated in our society. What counts most here is the educational influence, making the citizens aware of the need to organize their efforts and responsibilities for the loss of an entire place of work, a settlement, town or village--the entire country.

This is about the formulation of social discipline and confidence in the effectiveness of the undertakings of civil defense.

9511

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

ROLE OF PARTY PROPAGANDA IN FORMING NEW SOCIALIST AWARENESS

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 4 Jul-Aug 80 pp 87-103

[Article by Constantin Raducu: "The Role of Party Propaganda in the Formation and Development of Socialist Awareness and the New Man"]

[Text] In its entire existence, the Romanian Communist Party has given and is giving exceptional significance to the creative application and development of revolutionary ideology - dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism - and to the formation and development of socialist awareness in the broad popular masses and of the new man, with a scientific view upon its place and role in the world and upon its part in building socialism and communism. Through the problems and methodology with which it deals, as well as through the objectives that it outlines, our party's ideology and propaganda have a complex nature and a vast field of expression. Ideological activity is even more important and of great current interest, as noted in the Party Program, since the entire populace must be armed with scientific knowledge and a clear view in the struggle to complete a multilaterally developed socialist society and advance towards communism. This requires raising the political and ideological level of communists and other workers to ever higher levels for the purpose of understanding, interpreting and justly using the objective laws of social development, and for their conscious and active participation in the revolutionary transformation of the world.

In referring to the formation and development of socialist awareness and the new man in accordance with the objective laws of development, the secretary general of the party stressed: "In essence, we communists are, in fact, proposing to come to the assistance of nature - if it can be said in this manner, which expressed in man the highest form of organization of matter. We are working through all means to stimulate the most noble achievements of man, to develop his sensitivities and desire and will for independent over-achievement, to continue to increase his knowledge and to fulfill his most daring dreams of progress, justice and happiness. We are now proposing to improve the highest product of nature - man, the creator of all that exists in society."¹

All ideological and propaganda activity is and must be subordinated to this creed. The fulfillment of the Party Program and man's fulfillment as a social demiurgical being and as the transformer of nature and society depend upon the value of man and upon his political, philosophical, professional, moral and scientific qualities.

Our party's ideology is created from the totality of ideas, views and theories which reflect in a systematized way the revolutionary interests and aspirations of our working class, the peasantry and intellectuals, and all the people, stemming from the treasure of ideas of dialectical and historical materialism and from everything of value that mankind has created throughout the ages, as well as from the objective conditions of our socialist existence and from those things that serve to consolidate and develop the forces and relationships of production in our socialist society, to form and develop the new man and to bring about the ideals of communism.

Through its content of ideas and theses and its strong influential force, our party's ideology represents a powerful motive force for social progress, whose demands it objectively reflects. Ideological activity is carried out in the area of ideas, principles and fundamental theses, principally to elaborate them and to disseminate, understand and apply them, and ideology constitutes a fundamental attribute of the leading role of the party as the builder of social awareness in the masses. This is one of the most important means of forming the new, multilaterally developed man, having a high patriotic, revolutionary awareness, who is capable of consciously fulfilling the decisions of our party and state and of using his own forces to forge his historical destiny in accordance with the laws of social progress.

Ideological activity has as its principal objective the study of the phenomena of contemporary social development in the spirit of the dialectical unity between the general and the particular, and of national and international factors, the study of national and universal social practices and experiences in the building of the new society, and the understanding and combating, from party and scientific positions, of backwards, idealistic and contemporary ideas and of retrograde, anticommunist concepts and practices.

At the same time, the ideological activity carried out by the party provides the scientific analysis of the history of the Romanian people and the stages of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, the elaboration and enrichment of concepts on the multilaterally developed socialist society and the establishment of the fundamental directions of the history of socialist Romania, the development of the science of leading a socialist society, the improvement of organization and activities in all areas of social life, the evolution and role of the nation in contemporary society, the dialectics of development of socialist society, the theoretical analysis of contradictions and the establishment of means for their solution, the broadening and furthering of socialist democracy, the establishment of adequate measures to accelerate the economic development of the country and to go beyond the stage of a developing nation, and the paths for Romania's participation in the solution of the great problems of contemporary times in the interest of the people and in the dialogue of ideas on an international level.

The clarification of these problems is possible through the development of the general level of knowledge and of political-ideological training of activists and leadership cadre and all communists, through the creative application of scientific socialism to the conditions and particular nature of our country, through the development of scientific research in the social sciences for the purpose of increasing their contribution to ideological activities and through the knowledge of the experiences accumulated by the socialist countries and the international communist and workers movement. A strong accent is rightly placed on the development of the militant, combative spirit of those who are working on the ideological front and in the research sector and on the elimination of the shortcomings that still persist in the areas of philosophy, political economics, sociology, history and other areas. A separate place is given to the uninterrupted ideological training of those communists in leadership positions and those with the role of making social-political decisions, and to the formation of their abilities to make organized connections between revolutionary theory and practice and to work accordingly. "Theories and new problems cannot be elaborated somewhere by certain people who are removed from specific activities, outside of work and removed from day-to-day life and the practices of the party and state. Such theories and views will be inappropriate from the very beginning since they will not take into account the realities in our lives."²

Stating that its ideological basis is dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism, the Romanian Communist Party stresses the creative mastery of the advanced ideology of the working class by communists and all workers, as expressed in the "Program of the Party to Create a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and to Advance Romania towards Communism," in the documents of the Romanian Communist Party congresses and national conferences and the plenums of the Central Committee, and in the works of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a prominent personality of contemporary times, a distinguished politician and scientist and a consummate strategist for building socialism and communism and a better and most just world on our planet.

The party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally have pointed out numerous times that Marxism does not represent an ossified dogma, but rather an ideology open to man, and that the study of the party's and state's programmatic documents, of revolutionary ideology and scientific socialism cannot be reduced to the rote, mechanical learning of certain ideas and theses, but an effort must be made to organically master them, in close connection with the changes that have taken place in society and the world, for the purpose of discovering certain truly scientific conclusions and of developing bold, new thinking and the capacity for the dialectic understanding of reality. Only in this way can we ensure the revolutionary transformation of society, the growth of the leading role of the party in all areas and the creation of the conditions for moving to communism. In referring to these problems, the secretary general of the party notes that:

"We must learn how to study and deal with problems in a revolutionary, materialist-dialectical, Marxist-Leninist spirit in order to continually find the solutions required by life. Only in this way we will truly be Marxist-Leninists, and only in this way will we truly be and remain revolutionaries forever."³ In the overall group of accelerated structural changes that contemporary society is experiencing, a separate place goes to the changes that are occurring in the superstructure of society and the development of a system of concepts and practices of a political-ideological nature and of appropriate social institutions of propaganda. All this is designed to ensure the harmonious, balanced development of the economic-social and spiritual life of society.

Considered as a myth or reality in the contemporary world, depending upon the interests of the class or group, propaganda represents one of the forces of maximum importance for development, for the social-political movement, for the fulfillment of the fundamental strategies of the social-political system and for the stimulation of the will of the masses in the struggle for liberty, democracy and socialism.

The content of propaganda decisively depends upon the interests of a particular class and of certain ideologically-valued human groups or political formations. In our party's view of the world and life, propaganda constitutes a determining means of social praxis and a specific means of educating, activating and informing the masses and of their participation in fulfilling the Program of the Romanian Communist Party.

In the dialogue between Marxism and bourgeois ideology regarding the concept of propaganda, a series of apologists of bourgeois democracy considered propaganda to be an assault upon the imprescriptible freedoms of the individual and to be an undertaking that promotes violence, an assault upon the psychology of the multitudes as a technique for influence and psychological and ideological conformity. In the final analysis, in the views of these representatives of the bourgeoisie, the secret of propaganda would lie in its success in public and in satisfying the need for a standardized consumption of ideas, something similar to commercial advertising.

Through excellence, our party's propaganda has an ideological character, it has the mission of pursuing, through specific means, the fulfillment of certain fixed political actions and of creating a psycho-social atmosphere appropriate to the participation of the masses in achieving the political-ideological ideals of the working class, it bases its power and existence upon the scientific ideology of the party, it has a profoundly party-oriented, revolutionary, humanist content and it represents a gigantic material force capable of bringing about radical changes in the manner of thinking and transforming action of the masses.

Viewed in the entirety of its components, propaganda is a system of institutions, forms, methods and means for the organized and profound influencing of people's awareness, attitudes, behaviors and individual and collective actions. Propaganda is an indispensable social institution in political-ideological activities and

cultural-educational activities, used by communists and other workers regardless of their nationality to understand and apply certain strategies for development that are specific to each stage encountered in building the new society and in carrying out the Party Program. In a general sense, propaganda can be defined as a group of forms, methods and means of understanding and interpreting acts, events and ideas, and economic and social stages and requirements from the positions of the ideology and policies of the Romanian Communist Party, with the purpose of developing the social awareness of the people, of transmitting and instilling convictions regarding the major problems of development and, as a result, of creating in all the workers revolutionary attitudes, behaviors and transforming actions that are in full agreement with our party's view of the world and life - dialectic and historical materialism.

Political-ideological work and propaganda activities are those carried out by the party and its organs and organizations to elaborate and assimilate political ideas and concepts and to convince the masses regarding their fairness for the purpose of mobilizing them and getting their participation in implementing these concepts in social practice. With a penetrating power and scientific lucidity, characteristic of his personality, comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu, back at the 10th Party Congress, gave a scientific definition of propaganda and its fundamental functions. "The role of propaganda work is to stimulate a lively political thinking in the people and to help them explain the flow of events, adopt a just position regarding them, acquire a clear perspective on the basis of Marxist-Leninist concepts regarding the development of contemporary society and actively participate in the carrying out of the domestic and foreign policies of the party and government."⁴

In our society, the party accords exceptional significance to the education of the broad popular masses in the spirit of socialism and communism. In this regard, the great efforts during the years of the revolution and socialist construction stand as a witness for the development of education, science, art and culture, which, through their scope and positive implications, place our country among the ranks of the developed countries. Education represents a complex process that is carried out by the entire party. In order to achieve the requirements of an efficient education, there is need for a convergence of purposes, for a thorough political-ideological and cultural-scientific motivation on the part of each member of society and for a conscious adherence to the values promoted by the party in all areas. Education viewed in the complexities of its facets works on two planes - horizontally, pursuing the multilateral development of the human personality and, vertically and processually, beginning with simple, elementary forms up to the formation of political, philosophical and ethical concepts, motivations and convictions having a strong scientific content.

As the practice of building socialism in our country confirms and reconfirms, the party conceives the problem of forming and improving the general training of the builders of socialism not as something limited to a certain period, but as a continuing, complex, long-term and highly responsible process, and as a

permanent process. This understanding of the educational process strongly places its mark upon the content and educational forms and methods, beginning with the school up to the system of updating knowledge (follow-on training). Permanent education must be understood as a strict requirement imposed by the contemporary technical-scientific revolution, by the requirements of moving beyond the status of developing nation and by the furthering of Romania's participation in the world circuit of material and spiritual values, and as an integrated system of objectives, forms, methods and means for classical and modern education. Only to the degree in which the party organs and organizations, the leaderships of the economic-social units and all the educational factors at all levels understand how to carry out this process under the best possible conditions, with the continual updating of knowledge from the new advances of science and technology and national and universal cultures, will we be able to fulfill the tasks of implementing our Party's Program under conditions of high efficiency and of being competitive on the international level.

This means providing openings towards new horizons in education, stimulation of the spirit of innovation, emulation and creative unrest and proof to all the citizens of the country that a diploma, even from a university, once obtained gives no one the right to stop learning or to be absolved of the obligation to learn. The modern man, the communist man must be required to learn all his life. Otherwise, anyone can level-off, become outdated, useless. Precisely for that reason, propaganda has the job of combating with all its power imposture, routine, sufficiency, self-satisfaction, intellectual laziness and continual repetition of a correct idea and thesis, but one that is undecanted within the filter of its own judgement.

From what has been presented, we draw the conclusion that propaganda functions as a component of the ideological activities of the Romanian Communist Party and as a cultural act, as well as a component of the process of permanent education which is being carried out in our country.

Principally, ideological, political-education activities and propaganda fulfill the following functions: it promotes directly, openly and in a declared fashion the ideology and policy, strategy and tactics, and decisions of the party - an expression of dialectic and historical materialism and Marxism creatively applied to the conditions in Romania; it actively participates through all its forms and means in the formation and development of the social awareness of the masses and the formation of the new man and the multilaterally developed human personality; it provides the dissemination and assimilation of a system of information, criteria, methods of scientific thought and other values, with the help of which man can himself interpret and resolve in a scientific manner problems and situations, processes and events of a political-ideological and economic-social nature in the general interest of society, as well as in his interest; it permanently mobilizes the masses to political, economic and social-cultural actions and to carrying out the domestic and foreign policies of our party and state; it studies the economic-social phenomena in society and elaborates conclusions which help in improving the operation of the social mechanism in in close connection with the requirements

of objectives laws, production and material and spiritual life; through projects, studies, conferences, symposia, exchanges of experiences, roundtables and so forth, it directly participates in the understanding and dissemination of positive experiences and progressive worker initiatives, and in the promotion of the spirit of competition and new things in economic-social life; it works for the thorough understanding abroad of the ideology and domestic and foreign policies of the Romanian Communist Party and the achievements of our people throughout the ages, as well as during the years of socialist construction under the leadership of the party; it educates the people in the light of the internationalist principles promoted by the party, of friendship and cooperation with other peoples and of active solidarity and cooperation with all the socialist countries, with the peoples who have won their independence and are on the path of free development and with the progressive and democratic movements throughout the entire world, in actions to make a better and more just world; it studies the international ideological, political, economic and social-cultural phenomena, processes and trends and interprets them from the ideological and political positions of the Romanian Communist Party; it creatively, combatively and militantly participates in the movement and struggle of ideas in the contemporary world; and, it achieves organic unity between theory, ideology, politics, science and practice through a total commitment, on the basis of certain profound qualitative changes in the manner of thinking and acting on the part of the workers, in political and economic-social life.

But, as life has shown, these functions, these essential attributes are not themselves objectives by virtue of their simple statements. In order to be efficient, any propaganda action must be of quality and contain a series of characteristic traits. The efficiency of propaganda implies objectively, first of all, the improvement of its forms, the elaboration of new strategies and educational technologies that are fully in accord with the requirements of each stage and human collectivity, and the clear transmission of information.

The efficiency of propaganda work depends upon a variety of solutions and conditions, upon the content of the information transmitted and the quality and prestige of those who present it and support it before an audience, and upon the characteristics and particular psychosocial nature, regarding age, sex, profession, interests and ideals, of those who take part in these actions.

Sometimes it has been felt, falsely, certainly, that the efficiency of propaganda would be exclusively determined by the value and spread of information. And, from the experience of many organized political-ideological actions, speeches, radio and television programs, studies, meetings of scientific brigades with different categories of workers, films and so forth, it has been found that, by itself, the wealth of knowledge and information (sometimes extremely scholarly and abstract) does not also automatically ensure reception by those to whom it was addressed. For that reason, the quality and accuracy of the information represents merely one facet of efficiency. The quality of

propaganda work in order to be efficient means its intrinsic ability to unleash qualitative changes in the manner of people's thinking and to bring about changes in opinions, convictions, attitudes and behaviors in those persons upon which it works, and its active participation in the establishment of a psychosocial climate characterized by principledness, optimism and belief in the power of the work collective, cooperation and assistance, militant solidarity, an innovative spirit and daring and boldness in the operative solution of problems, and by the stimulation of criticism and self-criticism. The inverse of such a climate resides in dysfunctional elements, aspects of suspicion and tensions which, if they are not resolved in a principled manner, can degenerate into conflict and even into antagonistic contradictions.

From this point of view, it should be revealed and remembered that our party has a continuing concern for the operative and efficient understanding and resolution of problems that appear, for the resolution of certain inherent difficulties that stem from the development process and for gradually closing the gap - through economic, organizational and social measures that have been taken and that will continue to be taken - between the village and the city and between physical and intellectual work, and preventing certain violations of the laws of the country and communist morality.

Party propaganda has and must have a specific nature in order to popularize, understand and apply party decisions and the objective laws of social development, and to improve its own performance in the formation and development of the social awareness of the new man having a broad view of the world and life and capable of deliberately participating in the carrying out of the Party Program. So that propaganda can be useful and efficient, it must aim at and provide, through the totality of the activities carried out, the transformation of fundamental ideas, theses and tasks that stem from the programmatic documents of the party and state in principles and motives of action, and it must ensure the growth of workers' responsibility in achieving the proposed objectives. This decisively depends upon the manner in which the party organs and organizations and all educational factors at all levels work through the intermediary of specific forms and means of psychology, pedagogy, sociology and ethics in the organization and carrying out of mass political-educational actions.

The supreme interest of socialist education is for all workers, without exception, to participate in economic-social, political, cultural-scientific and entertainment activities out of need, understanding and principle.

Political, philosophical, moral and other principles represent a result of mastering ideology and the information held by people, with these having an axiological, normative, value-setting and finalizing dimension. Principles cannot be imposed by coercive means and cannot be automatically implanted by virtue of certain social commandments, but are formed on the basis of one's own experiences, judgements, evaluations and analyses of the content of

information, accepting them or rejecting them on the basis of interests, aspirations and so forth that are placed in a hierarchical order in close connection with one's own table of values and the specific interests and ideals of each member of society.

These principles, built upon revolutionary ideology, the principles of scientific socialism, the principles and norms of the work and life of communists and socialist ethics and equality, and the national economic-social interests, give an optimistic view of the future, direct deeds and attitudes and mobilize the masses in the conscious carrying out of tasks under conditions of high efficiency. They have a decision role in the conceptualization and carrying out of human ideals and projects, representing active impetuses to implement economic-social imperatives.

The expressed principles are the measure of the value of the human personality and the strength and tenacity with which it works to achieve the proposed goals, and the revolutionary spirit to transform the world. It can be stated, thus, that the efficiency of these principles is shown by concrete deeds and not by formal pledges and declarations, without hiding behind the good things in life and national wealth.

Through its entire ideological and political-educational activity, our party consistently militates for the intimate understanding and mastery of the fundamental strategic objectives of socialism and communism and for the internalization, awareness and reflection of these objectives as the correct interests of each worker regardless of nationality and his direct participation in the achievement of the Party's Program. Political-ideological and cultural-educational actions that are carried out at all levels must be unconditionally subordinated to this major meaning.

In the stage in which we now are and as an expression of certain limits of development, of certain inherent imperfections, contradictions and failures at the level of certain branches and sub-branches of the economy, and of certain limits of the human collectivity, there still are and continue to be robberies, acts of hooliganism, trends towards illicit wealth, lack of concern for improving the level of professional training, poor quality work and mystical-religious practices because of mistakes in the manner of thinking and behaving by certain members of society. Such manifestations attest to the fact that the opinions and principles of these people are still not based upon the objective laws of progress, on the ideology of the working class and on the theses of scientific socialism, and, as such, are in contrast with the fundamental interests of society and these communities and with the data and results of science. Precisely for that reason, the decisive elimination of any type of backward and retrograde attitudes requires an increase in the efficiency of all party propaganda in close connection with the specific requirements and exigencies of each stage, the community and, in the final analysis, each individual.

Knowing the general peculiarities characteristic of the human community, by virtue of the analyses made by the party and state, the sociological, psychological and pedagogical studies, and direct daily knowledge, those who carry out the political-educational activities must prepare their actions in such a manner, on the basis of scientific, political and moral truths, so as to undermine and eliminate the erroneous convictions of certain citizens and to help them to reconsider them and self-critically reevaluate their opinions, ideas and outdated, retrograde, mystical and religious beliefs. The social-historical practice of building socialism in our country demonstrates that permanent attention must be given to ensuring the elastic, dialectical adaptation of the content of the political-ideological and cultural-educational activities carried out to the psychological and psychosocial peculiarities specific to the participants, to the level of instruction of the people, to their level of cultural-scientific training and to their real needs for knowledge. In a practical sense, propaganda viewed in the totality of its attributes is efficient only when it begins from a realistic psychosocial diagnosis (specific and up-to-date knowledge) of the opinions, convictions and morale of the people, when it meets the formative-educational requirements of the people and when it helps them to broaden their horizon in thinking and revolutionary action.

Thus, political-ideological work is called upon to directly contribute to the cultivation of the values of socialism and to their development through joint efforts, and to plant in the awareness of the workers communist principles that are expressed in their progressive position in material production and in social life. This means ensuring the educational finality of ideological activities and conferring efficiency upon them. This is so because what gives value to the propagandistic means is precisely their ability to disseminate the ideas of the party throughout the ranks of the broadest strata of the population and to employ them in a conscious, useful activity in order to bring about provision in the decisions of the party and the laws of the country.

Relating the level of ideological activities to current exigencies and the growing tasks and responsibilities of the party organs and organizations, the need to give political-educational work a pronounced militant nature becomes a requirement of an extremely current nature. Being active and combative means, first of all, arming party members with the knowledge they need in carrying out their revolutionary mission and in defending, consolidating and developing the great advances made during the years of socialism, and, at the same time, it means combating any backwards, retrograde and antisocial manifestations, both of a theoretical and practical nature. Keeping in mind the dialectic relationship between the elements of continuity and discontinuity and between the quality and the effects of educational work, there is also a direct relationship between some shortcomings and the deficiencies encountered in political-educational work. Certainly, mechanical connections cannot be made between the results in the economy and ideological work. But, political activity cannot be conceived as something in itself, because such an activity cannot be of much value if it does not have far-reaching echoes in the awareness of the masses and, especially, if it does not help the workers understand better current and future imperatives and work deliberately to bring them about.

As experience shows, educational activities are even more valuable when they aim at not only combating certain poisonous phenomena, but when they also keep in mind the prevention of their appearance and spread. In this regard, it is necessary for those who organize political-ideological activities to understand negative phenomena, to not forget in their propaganda work those who need help, guidance and corrections in their behavior, or, in a word, to not neglect the creation of mass opinion against negative acts and manifestations. At the same time, combativity, criticism and self-criticism, as characteristic traits of party statutes and discipline and the communist Code of Ethics, also require receptivity and adherence to all that is new and valuable and means progress. An exacting, critical spirit is associated with a creative attitude, with a sensitivity to new things and with a permanent concern for the proliferation of daring, innovative ideas and initiatives. At the same time, a critical spirit is not the same thing as anarchy, as the right to strike a blow or disregard human dignity, or as the "freedom" to denigrate the personality. Criticism must have an objective nature, and it must necessarily involve the means of correcting errors and shortcomings and help correct infractions and recover, not destroy people.

Activities to create the multilaterally developed new man have a chance to succeed when each educational factor succeeds in unleashing a wave of opinion against the remains of foreign ideology and retrograde things, and when it succeeds in carving into the workers' awareness the specific traits of communists, the very people called upon to be in the vanguard of historical development. And, because the ideas of the party can be spread to the masses, there must be a rich, intensive social life that can involve all the members of the community in a sustained activity and represent the surrounding environment, a mobilizing example for the creation of complete political activists and an example of behavior in social affairs, in the family and on the job.

Propaganda reaches its goals only when all communist and other workers regardless of their nationality work in agreement with the fundamental interests of society and with the general laws of communist development in Romania. Beginning with the truth that man stands in the center of all the concerns of our party and state, the ever greater satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs and the efficiency of propaganda are in relation to the manner in which propaganda deals with the problem of socialist, revolutionary humanism and in which it contributes to the creation of the prototype of the total man of which Marx spoke, organically part of the overall scheme of social relationships and who understands the need to subordinate this individual interests to the general ones.

The growth of the efficiency of propaganda in our society is not a problem of routine, inertia or expectations, and it is not a secondary, adjacent or voluntary and facultative problem, but rather it is one of the greatest significance, of perpetual conception, content, methodology and effort. Our propaganda, in order to fulfill its mission, does not need the techniques and complicated instruments specific to bourgeois propaganda or the sophisticated, artificial means of rhetoric and demagogical promises, but rather it needs the

improvement of the methods to understand, interpret, propagate and apply the decisions of the party and the laws of the country - through the elaboration of multi- and interdisciplinary studies, through the courage to denounce that which is obsolete and promote new things in education, and through the ability to make efficient and positive generalizations and so forth, the achievement of a lively dialogue in which all the citizens of the country can participate, the explanation of the objective requirements of development and the stimulation of people to find new solutions to new problems.

In our party's view of the world and life, socialism presupposes not only a high material standard of living, but also a superior human civilization, the creation of conditions for the multilateral development of the personality and the formation of a new man having a high awareness who is free of shortcomings and limits from the past and who can give a full measure to his creative abilities in production and in the totality of his make-up as a social being.

In full agreement with the dialectics of the development of our socialist society, the party begins with the view that political-ideological activity and the formation and complete affirmation of advanced awareness work as a powerful motive force and as a stimulating factor for social progress and for concentrating the conscious efforts of all the people to achieve the economic-social objectives established by the party. At the same time, the growth of the level of social awareness among the masses, the revolutionization of human behavior and the growth of communist responsibility must lead to the development of a higher sense of social responsibility in each citizen, the generator of high creative energies, to the growth of participation of the broad popular masses and to the furthering and improvement of socialist democracy in the management of all social life.

Beginning with the role and place of propaganda activities in overall social development the Romanian Communist Party is oriented in a unified direction of broad perspective, with the group of political-educational measures to carry out the objectives of the Program, the decisions of the Party Congresses and the national conferences, and the ideas and theses contained in the speeches by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Within this framework of concern, the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, which took place in June 1976, is a moment of significance. As part of the group of meetings organized on a national scale, and which have become a practice of our party, the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture discussed, in a highly scientific spirit, the means for the practical achievement of the historical decisions regarding the continued raising of the level of the workers' socialist awareness and the participation of communist and other workers in the exemplary carrying out of their tasks in the national economic-social development plan.

In order to implement the tasks outlined by the 11th Party Congress and by the Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture in the fields of ideological, political and cultural-educational work, the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, held 2-6 November 1976, adopted a special program

of measures drawn up by the Ideological Commission of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, under the direct guidance of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The measures that were established, and which also incorporated proposals made by workers within the framework of the public discussions on this document, are of a nature to ensure the intensification of propaganda activities for the purpose of developing socialist awareness and creating the new man and of stimulating the participation of all citizens - Romanians, Hungarians, Germans and other nationalities - in the ideological, political and cultural activities of the country and in the entire work of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

This program of measures, to which was added the two Working Conferences of the Romanian Communist Party, held in 1977 and 1979, and the directives issued by the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the fields of political-ideological and cultural-scientific activities, reflects the consistently revolutionary spirit in which our party deals with the political-ideological problems of the development of society, and the constant concern for a creative approach to the fundamental process of building our new society and for finding new ways and means for the people to participate in the development of progress and civilization and in the growth of socialist Romania's prestige in the world.

In this revolutionary spirit of maximum exigency and responsibility, the party organs and organizations and the councils of political education and socialist culture are consistently working to improve the unified organization and management of political, ideological and cultural-educational activities, to enrich the content of these activities to the level of the times in which we live and to attract a broad public active and all workers to the educational sphere. Measures were taken to improve political education and all party propaganda and to directly tie political-ideological and cultural-educational activities to the principal tasks of each unit and work collective and to the fundamental objectives of building socialism in our country.

For the purpose of improving the unified organization and management of political-ideological and cultural-educational activities, councils for political education and socialist culture were created at the county, city and town levels. These councils work as party and state organs and organize in a unified manner, under the guidance of party organs and organizations, all activities for ideological training, political education, cultural-artistic activities and work involved in the spread of science carried out by component organizations involved in education. And, for the purpose of involving all young people, including those of tender age, in organized forms of revolutionary education, the "Falcons of the Country" was established for children 4 to 7 years old. Through the content of its activities, this organization has already become known and appreciated, with it making its valuable contribution to the education of the youngest members of society in the spirit of socialism and communism.

The measures adopted offer an appropriate framework for the substantial improvement of the content of political-ideological activities and their appropriate orientation. In the spirit of this, educational activities must be conceived and carried out in an indissoluble tie with life and with social-economic practice. In such a view, the essential criterion for the efficiency of mass educational activities resides, first of all, in the progress of material and spiritual production. For that reason, the fundamental task of propaganda work lies in the subordination of all activities to the achievement of the tasks of economic-social development included in the five year plan, the five year plan of the full affirmation of science and technology.

Special attention must be permanently given to the education and formation of all citizens, and first of all of young people, through work and for work. This requires in everything that is done cultivating the cult of useful work for society and for increasing national wealth and, on this basis, the prosperity of all the people. In this regard, measures were adopted, including legislative actions, so each citizen can have a useful social job in the area of material goods production, in the realm of science and culture and in other fields of activities necessary to our socialist society.

Through the measures adopted, the party is consistently promoting the organic integration of education with research and production, an orientation capable of contributing, in addition to increasing directly economic efficiency and stimulating scientific and technical thought, to the uprooting of the mentality of separation between physical and intellectual work and to the promotion of the social homogenization of society on a material and spiritual plane. Precisely for this reason, there is an anachronism in the mentality and practice of certain families and young people to disapprove of work and to be employed, as is said, at any price as an office worker, anywhere, but never in production. Such an aristocratic look reflects, we think, precisely the weaknesses in the educational work at the school level, in the family and in certain human communities.

The leaderships of the party and the party organs and organizations are firmly involved in raising activities in fields of culture and art and technical-scientific creation to a higher level. At the initiative of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the National Festival "The Song of Romania" was organized for the purpose of stimulating artistic creation and interpretation among the masses, of intensifying and diversifying the spiritual life of the country, and of getting an ever broader participation of the workers in cultural activities and technical-scientific creation.

In bringing about a true emulation in the field of interpretation and artistic and technical-scientific creation at the level of the entire nation, the festival is achieving a blending of the talents of creators and interpreters for the generous purpose of continuing to improve the culture, art, science and technology and spiritual life of all Romanian, Hungarian, German and other workers. Within the framework of the National Festival "The Song of Romania" there is, as is

natural, great stress on involving the entire mass of workers in artistic and technical-scientific activities. In the second edition of the festival, which was recently concluded, over 140,000 artistic groups and circles participated involving over three million amateur and professional artists. A significant contribution to the materialist-scientific education of the masses is being made by the more than 2,000 cultural-scientific universities, the more than 5,000 scientific brigades and the nearly 22,000 libraries, which have experienced a broad expansion and continuing improvement. Over 2,800 young people's materialist-scientific education groups were created, and broad coverage was given to the actions carried out to stimulate the participation of the masses in scientific and technical creation.

In comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's message addressed to the winners and participants in the second edition of the National Festival "The Song of Romania," it points out the growth in the value of the contribution of this national movement to enriching the patrimony of our society, to carrying out economic-social tasks and to educating the broad popular masses in the spirit of socialism and the revolutionary view of the world and life, in dialectic and historical materialism and in the higher use of the authentic talents of the workers. There is special significance in the organic combination of cultural-artistic activities with concerns for the achievement of economic-social tasks under good conditions and with the general work for carrying out the Party's Program of building a multilateral, developed socialist society and advancing Romania towards communism, with the festival providing a broad expression both of artistic talent and of creative effort dedicated to the prosperity of the country.

The means of mass information, the press and radio-television are making an increased contribution to the political, ideological and cultural education and to increasing the socialist awareness of the workers. The central and local press and radio-television, through specialized columns and broadcasts, are trying to provide a better reflection of the political, economic, scientific and cultural activities of the country, to increase their contribution to showing and spreading the advanced experiences in the construction of socialism, to criticize the shortcomings that are still encountered in different sectors of activity, to combat vigorously retrograde manifestations and to broadly promote the fundamental moral, social and human values of our society.

As a result of the measures and actions undertaken, there is a special growth in the revolutionary spirit in all party activities and in the social behavior of the workers. The content of the spiritual life of the people has been improved and is deeply penetrated by the content of revolutionary ideas and the firm decision to do everything, while closely united around the party and its secretary general, to ensure the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society and the advancement of Romania towards communism.

In evaluating the results obtained in ideological and propaganda activities and permanently critically evaluating the new problems and requirements that appear in this unusually complex and dynamic field, our party pointed out that we still

have much to do to continue to improve our work and to carry out the objectives included in the Program of the Romanian Communist Party. For that reason, the propaganda carried out at all levels is obligated to work with even more energy and more decisiveness to eliminate shortcomings and improve political-ideological activities, as one of the essential attributes of exercising the leading role of the party in society.

In the center of all propaganda activities, the party, mass and public organs and organizations place the popularization and explanation of our party's and state's domestic and foreign policies, the thorough understanding, by all the workers, of the Party Program and other documents approved by the party, and of the speeches by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party.

Giving priority to the modernization and improvement of the forces of production and the creation of a powerful economic base in close relation to the notable achievements of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution, the Romanian Communist Party is, at the same time, involved in raising the general level of knowledge and education of the workers in the spirit of the progressive, revolutionary traditions of our people and scientific concepts regarding the world and life, in spreading scientific knowledge to the masses, in broadening the horizon of knowledge of our socialist nation and in combating retrograde mentalities.

The formation and development of socialist awareness represents a complex and multilateral process which involves the thorough understanding of that which is valuable in the fields of contemporary culture, science and technology, the full mastery of professions, the organic mastery and application of philosophical concepts about the world and society as seen by our party, and the formation of an advanced civil attitude. All education work carried out by the party and the state must respond to these fundamental requirements which are reciprocally conditioned and influenced.

The propaganda work carried out by the party organs and organizations is cultivating in the awareness of each member of our society the conviction that the principal form of expression of devotion to the party and love for the country is the direct participation in the creation of material and spiritual goods and the placement of all creative abilities in the service of general well-being and prosperity. Each citizen of the country is called upon to give proof of a high professional awareness, competence and devotion in work and to show through deeds that he is animated by the inspiring goals of socialism and communism and by the lifting of the country to new peaks of progress and civilization. For that reason, the supreme homage that one citizen or another of the country can pay to the party and state is to increase his contribution to the development of the economy, culture and national wealth.

All political-educational work places special stress on the specific economic problems of each unit and on explaining in clear and simple language the tasks stemming from party and state decisions. Currently, the activities carried out in this area call for the mobilization of the workers for the exemplary fulfillment of plan tasks and the pledges made for the entire period of the five year plan, for the improvement of the quality of production, for the reduction of production costs, for the reduction of the consumption of metals, wood materials, and fuels and energy, for the speed up of putting investment projects into operation and so forth. Keeping in mind the consequences and implications of the world energy crisis and the crises in raw materials and agro-food supplies, it is necessary that we keep in the center of political-educational activities the mobilization of all forces for the purpose of finding and applying new political-organizations ways, means and technical solutions to achieve a system of conservation for raw materials, materials, energy and fuels. This imperative has a profound political and patriotic meaning and a high responsibility for the destiny of the national economy and for the achievement of the desire that Romania will become independent from an energy point of view during the coming decade.

Keeping in mind the extremely rich fund of progressive initiatives in all the spheres of economic-social and political-educational activities, it is necessary for this patrimony to be better used. For that reason, in political activities an ever greater accent is being placed on the study and spread of advanced work experiences, initiatives and methods in order to introduce into the production process everything that is new and efficient and to benefit from the results of technical-scientific progress for the purpose of continuing to increase labor productivity, improve quality and raise technical-economic performance.

According to the guidance issued by the party, all the educational factors are working responsibly to intensify the patriotic educational activities for the workers in the spirit of love for the glorious past in the struggle of the people, in its multimillenia history and in the contribution that our forefathers made to the progress of civilization, and for the glorious traditions of the struggle of the working class and its vanguard party.

At the same time, party propaganda broadly presents the struggle of the popular masses throughout the centuries against social and national exploitation and oppression and foreign domination, and for the defense of its being, freedoms and independence and to instill in the entire populace the decision to do everything so socialist Romania can rise with dignity among the nations of the world. At the same time, it is firmly working against all those manifestations of treason against the country, against retrograde concepts and practices that extol the manner of life and culture in the West and against those alienated people who, as the secretary general of the party said, are disposed to sell out their country for a fist-full of silver. At the same time, the central and local press and radio-television are making their important contribution to revealing the shortcomings of capitalism and interests of the reactionary circles which circulate the thesis of the so-called lack of rights under socialism, with the purpose of denigrating socialism.

Within the framework of the Program to Improve Ideological Activities, priority goes to educating the workers in the spirit of socialist ethics and equality. Beginning with the role that party members have in social activities, the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party adopted the Code of Principles and Norms of Work and Life for Communists and of Socialist Ethics and Equality. The principled and practical importance of drawing up the Code lies in the fact that the party is represented by people and that its history is the history of people, its conscience is the conscience of people. As a result, the formation and development the moral-political qualities of party members have a decisive importance upon the manner in which the Romanian Communist Party fulfills its historical mission and upon the manner of thinking and working among the party members. For that reason, the efficiency of propaganda work can be expressed only to the degree in which it contributes to the transformation of this communist ethics code into a true moral guide for all the citizens of socialist Romania.

Our propaganda must work without any pause and with decisiveness to create a high moral fabric and a progressive attitude towards work, to combat manifestations of parasitism, excessive wealth, thieves and negligence in the management of public wealth, violations of laws and regulations governing coexistence, and to have a powerful mass opinion against infractions of any type. In this regard, the party leadership and the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have demonstrated and are demonstrating a maximum communist exigency towards any type of attempt to underestimate these principles, to violate them or to consider them optional. "Socialist humanism and care for mankind have nothing in common with tolerance for violations of the law and acts of holliganism or tolerance for the deeds of some people, few in number, it is true, who believe that they can live without working."⁵

In its entire political-ideological activity, the Romanian Communist Party gives priority / importance to reflecting the dialectic ties between fundamental domestic factors and foreign ones in making social progress, and it shows its constant concern for organically combining the supreme responsibilities assumed by the party regarding the working class in Romania and its own nation with its international responsibilities.

In all their political-ideological activities, the party organs and organizations pay attention to the education of the masses of workers in the spirit of international solidarity and collaboration and friendship with all the socialist countries, with all the communist and workers parties and with all the people of the world, and they arm them with a profound understanding of our party's and state's foreign policy, in the elaboration and implementation of which the decisive role is played by the secretary general of the party, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

We are not forgetting for a moment that the first duty of our party as a ruling party is successfully building socialism, with this being its basic contribution to the cause of socialism and peace in the world. At the same time, the party is concerned with strengthening solidarity with the other people who are building the new order and with the antiimperialist, democratic and progressive forces everywhere.

In this regard, the ideological and propaganda activities carried out by our party on an international level try to actively contribute to the affirmation of the superiority of socialism and the cause of communism and to the support for the peoples' struggle for freedom, the combatting of all forms of expression of imperialist policies and the apologists of capitalism, and the strengthening of the solidarity of all social forces that militate for progress and the defense of peace in the world.

In showing the scope and the significance of the processes that have led and are leading to limiting the spheres of action of imperialism, our party gives special attention to revealing the deep contradictions that are working as a law in the development of contemporary world affairs. Our party propaganda has, therefore, the obligation to present with special force, especially for the young people, the realities of the capitalist world - inflation, unemployment, exploitation, economic and social injustices, social insecurity, other manifestations of its economic-social antagonisms, the struggle of the working class led by the communist and workers parties against the policies of oppression, colonialism and neocolonialism, imperialist policies of force and diktat, aggression and the threat of a new and destructive atomic-nuclear world war. From this point of view, it is necessary to signal the need for a more pronounced fight against the manifestations of surrender and servilism on the part of some citizens. It is true this number is small compared to the mass of the Romanian people who are fighting to create happiness here, on the land where they were born, and not somewhere else, compared to the bourgeois style of life and culture.

Our propaganda is designed to systematically inform the people of the anachronic state of affairs in the Western world and of the danger of the revitalization and resurrection of certain reactionary and ultrareactionary forces, as can be seen in a series of Western countries, and of the reactivation of certain neofascist circles which seek to recruit into their service declassé elements and former members of extreme right and fascist organizations and to use them to poison the international political atmosphere.

Currently, the problem of peace and war is considered the central problem of the contemporary world. In the struggle to safeguard peace, the party feels that the achievement of European security requires a decisive struggle against any return to policies of hostility and against chauvinistic nationalism, revanchism and attempts to propagate hate between nations and races.

In the realization of the tasks regarding the political-ideological and cultural-educational education of the masses and in the development of their socialist awareness, there is a direct contribution from the activities organized and carried out under the direct guidance of the party organizations and the Councils of Political Education and Socialist Culture, that complex system of cultural institutions - cultural centers, clubs, libraries, theaters and museums - designed to satisfy to a greater degree the continually growing spiritual needs of the workers. Through these institutions, there is work on multiple planes and with diverse means, pursuing these so all cultural-educational activities can be subordinate to the tasks imposed by the specific demands of the current development of our society.

In essence, political-ideological activities constitute and will in the future also constitute a means of accelerating the constructive processes for the purpose of fulfilling the objectives established by the Party Program to build a multilaterally developed socialist society and to advance Romanian towards communism.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania On the Path of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 13, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, pp 134-135.
2. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Working Conference with Activists and Cadre from the Fields of Political Education, Propaganda and Ideology," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1977, p 35.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania On the Path of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 11, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 383.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania On the Path of Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society," Vol 4, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1970, p 323.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech to the Second Congress of the People's Councils," in SCINTEIA, year 50, No 11839, 13 September 1980, p 4.

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